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PRIMITIVE HEARING AND "HEARING-WORDS."

By ALEXANDER F. CHAMBERLAIN.

Hearing among primitive peoples has been little studied, "hearing-words" still less. In this essay an attempt is made to bring together certain facts of anthropological-psychological interest, not to exhaust a subject the investigation of which has hardly yet begun.

Acuteness of Hearing. As is the case with other senses, the hearing of savage and barbarous peoples has been thought to be extraordinarily keen. This supposed acuteness, beyond anything known among civilized races, is largely non-existent, except where very special circumstances and training are involved, corresponding to like instances among ourselves. What Ranke said of the eyesight of the Brazilian Indians, Myers now says of the hearing of the Papuans of Torres Straits,—in the matter of mere sense-acuteness the average individuals of these savage peoples, as compared with individuals among civilized races, possess no constant absolute superiority. Environment, practice, and special training account for much. (Rep. Torres Straits Exped., Vol. II, Pt. 2, 1903, pp. 142-144.) Brinton (Essays of an Americanist, 1890, p. 408) thinks primitive man was a *visuaire* rather than an *auditaire*. The term in common use in modern English to indicate good, excellent, or fine hearing is *sharp* or *acute*, and there exists in folk-thought a correlation between the sharp (pointed) ears of certain animals and their intelligence. We also say "his sense of hearing is *keen*." Proverbs and folk-lore furnish a number of expressions relative to acuteness of hearing. In Norse mythology Heimdallr is so wise that he could hear the wool grow on the sheep and the grass grow in the fields. "To hear the grass grow" is a proverbial phrase found in Frisian and other Teutonic dialects,—also "to hear the worms cough." The Eskimo shamans are said to be quick-eared enough to hear the voices of the spirits beside the waters of the other world.

The Magyars of Hungary, in one of their naïve myths, credit themselves with very sharp ears (Am Ur-Quell, Vol. IV, p. 47): The constellation *Corona* is thought by them to be the Garden of Eden, which, after the fall of man, was removed to

the skies. At times, by listening carefully, one can hear the rustling of the trees of Paradise.

Sharp ears, too, are remembered in the legend of the origin of music told by the Asaba, a tribe on the Niger in West Africa (Wallaschek, *Prim. Music*, p. 260). Music was brought into the country by Orgardié, a hunter of Ibuzo, returning from a hunt after big game:

"There he heard music in the thick forest, proceeding from a party of forest spirits that were approaching. He remembered the steps of the dances and the music of the songs sung, and, upon his return to his village, taught his countrymen this music, which was called *Egu olo*. From Ibuzo music was imported to Asaba land."

It is worth noting that "every fresh dance or song is believed to have been first heard by hunters, during their expeditions in the jungles." The Estonians have a legend of the origins of human speech, which derives the differences of languages and dialects from men's perception of the hissing and boiling of a kettle of water which "the Aged One" put on the fire. Another tale of the same people is cited by Farrar (*Chapters on Lang.*, 1873, p. 105): "The god of song, Wan-nemunne, descended on the Domberg, on which stands a sacred wood, and there played and sang. All the creatures were invited to listen, and they each learnt some fragment of the celestial sound; the listening wood learnt its rustling, the stream its roar; the wind caught and learned to re-echo the shrillest tones, and the birds the prelude of the song. The fishes stuck up their heads as far as the eyes out of the water, but left their ears under water; they saw the movements of the god's mouth, and imitated them but remained dumb. Man only grasped it all, and therefore his song pierces into the depths of the heart, and upwards to the dwellings of the gods." Some "tree of language" myths belong here also, and the oracle-trees of classic mythology and real Hellenism. Says Brinton (*Rel. of Prim. Peoples*, 1897, p. 153): "The sound of the wind in the leaves, rising from the softest of mystic whispers to the roaring of the wild blast, seems to proceed from some wind or spirit. The Australians say that these are the voices of the dead, communing one with another, or warning the living of what is to come. They and other tribes also believe that it is through understanding this mysterious language that the 'doctors,' or shamans, communicate with the world of spirits and derive their supernatural knowledge. Hence, we can easily see, arose the myth of the 'tree of knowledge,' which we find in the earliest Semitic annals and monuments. It belonged to the same species as the oracular oak of Zeus at Do-

dona, and the laurel of Apollo at Delphi, from the whispers of whose leaves the sybils interpreted the sayings of the gods."

The idea that the sense of hearing is quickened at night is well expressed by Shakespeare (*Mids. N. D.*, iii, 2), who makes Hermia say:

"Dark night, that from the eye his function takes,
The ear more quick of apprehension makes;
Wherein it doth impair the seeing sense,
It pays the hearing double recompense."

Elsewhere, both in literature and in folk-lore, the "stilly night" makes it possible for man by straining his ears to perceive many otherwise unheard sounds and whisperings of human, superhuman and infrahuman origin.

Deafness. The terms for "deaf," "deafness," etc., in the Indo-European languages demonstrate both the indefiniteness in signification of ancient sense-words and the curious correlations in speech-expression of the experience of diverse senses. A common term in English for minor degrees of deafness (and, euphemistically, for the others) is "*hard of hearing*," corresponding to French "*dur d'oreille*." We also say "*dull* of hearing," and prose and poetic writers use such phrases as, "the dull ear of a drowsy man" (Shakespeare), "the night's dull ear" (Shakespeare), "the dull cold ear of death" (Gray), etc. In German we have "*schwachhörig*, literally 'feeble (weak) hearing,'" in Dutch "*doofachtig*." Latin *surdaster* and French *sourdaud* belong here. The history of English terms denoting sense-defects is very interesting to the psychologist.

To a serious defect of hearing we apply in English the term *deaf*, corresponding to German *taub* and its cognates in other languages, and related, by nasalization, with *dumb*, German *dumm* (O. H. G. *tumpf*), etc. That this particular meaning is due to specialization is seen from the history of the word and its use in the various dialects.

Both in English and in German the idea "deaf" is applied to "a nut without a kernel,"—a *deaf* nut, eine *taube* Nuss. De Quincey (*Autob. Sketches*, I, p. 91) speaks of "what children call a *deaf* nut, offering no kernel;" and Bishop Hall, in the seventeenth century, uses this phrase of "a man that hath outward service without inward fear." In English and German dialects, and sometimes in the literary forms of these tongues, the term "deaf" is given to empty ears of corn, light grain, things that are hollow, empty, barren, unproductive, weak, insipid, etc., particularly land, eggs, etc. Murray's great English dictionary, Wright's English Dialect dictionary and Grimm's German dictionary contain a mass of evidence on these points. Worth special mention, perhaps, are "deaf" in the sense of "asleep," used of the foot, etc., and "deaf coals," applied to

coals which have gone out for lack of draft,—both of which meanings occur in the Altmark dialect of German, etc.

In modern English we have: *Stone-deaf*, deaf as a *post* ("deaf as a *door*" is now dialectical), and in dialect and colloquial speech: *Deaf as an adder*, *deaf as a beetle*, *deaf as a door-nail*, *deaf as a haddock*, *dead-deaf*, *deaf as Ailsa-Craig* (Scotch), not to hear *day* nor *door* (Scotch), etc.

In Latin the characteristic word for "deaf" is *surdus*, which has given rise to French *sourd*, Spanish *sordo*, Italian *sordo*, etc. Even in literary and classical Latin *surdus*, like English *deaf*, German *dumm*, etc., had a rather wide range of meaning: "deaf (physically and figuratively), mute, dumb, harsh, inharmonious, unpleasant to the ear," and, as applied to colors, sounds, etc., "faint, dim, dark, dull." Pliny wrote of a "*surdus* color," and in French we have *un bruit sourd*. From *surdus* is derived *absurdus*, with its psychic and other implications. Many authorities make *surdus* cognate with *sordidus*, "dirty," English *swart* and German *schwarz*. A periphrastic term for "deaf" in Latin is *auribus captus*. A derivative of *surdus* is *surdaster*, "somewhat deaf."

In the languages of savage and barbarous peoples, as may be seen from the Australian words for "deaf" given by Mathew (Eagle-hawk and Crow, London, 1899), we often meet with terms signifying literally "not hearing" (no ears), "stopped ears," "shut ears," "blunt (blind) ears," "bad ears," "sick ears," etc. Thus in the Barwidgee language of the Upper Murray "blind" is *megeewanjega*, "deaf," *megee murrumbugga* (*murrumbo* = ear); in the Yarra river dialect "blind" is *turt-wirng*, "deaf," *turtwing* (*wirng* = ear). Tasmanian *wayeebede*, Lower Lachlan *maarkenki*, Kamilroi *muggabinna*, Kabi *pinang gulum*, Toodyay *dwangoburt*, Adelaide *yurre ngundanniti*, Murunuda *kootchabooroo* all refer to the fact of the ear being defective and contain as an essential component the word for "ear." In the Tyattyalla language of Victoria *murt wirmbul*, "deaf," really means "blunt ears." In the Yualeai language the word for "deaf," *nomba*, is identical with that for "mad, crazy," which recalls the etymological relationship of German *taub* and *toben*. From the Indian languages of America may be cited: Cree *nama wayawittam*, *nama pettam*, *nama ottawokaw*, the first component of all of which is *nama*, a particle of negation, used in connection with *pettawew*, "to hear," and other words of "hearing," etc.,—*namawiya wayawittam*, "he is hard of hearing" ("he hears well" is *nahittam*, which also signifies he "understands well"). In Cree we have also for "deaf" *kákepitew* and *káwiyottáwokay*, *kipittáwokew*, etc., the first of which signifies "his ears are stopped," while the others contain the word for "ear," all referring to "non-hear-

ing" or interference with the ears. Cognate with Cree *kâke-pitew* is Ojibwa *kakipishe*, by which name also a species of owl is designated, from its assumed deafness. The correlation of hearing and intelligence seen in French *entendre*, Latin *intendere*, etc., is found in the languages of many primitive peoples of the Old World and the New.

Ear and Hear. In spite of the close resemblance of English *ear* and *hear*, Gothic *auso* and *hausjan*, German *Ohr* and *hören*, it is by no means certain that the name of the organ and the term applied to its function are radically connected. This is the case also with many primitive tongues and with a number of more or less derivative languages, like modern French, where we have for "ear," *oreille*, and for "hear," *entendre*, *écouter*, although as several phrases (e. g., *ouï-dire*) and the term for "hearing," *ouïe*, and the not yet extinct *ouir*, "to hear," indicate the former existence of connected words for "ear" and "hear," furnished, as to others of the Romance dialects, by Latin *auris* and *audire* (both from the root *aus-*). Greek *oīs*, "ear," and *āiō*, "I hear," are probably cognate with Latin *auris* and *audire*, the chief radical of all being *av*, "to hear, to attend to, to listen," etc. Anglo-Saxon *blysl*, "sense of hearing," Old Slavonic *sluchu*, "hearing," Gothic *hluma*, "hearing," "hearing ear," Icelandic *blust*, "ear," Welsh *clust*, "ear," etc., exhibit names for "hear" and "ear" derived from the same radical as that appearing in English *list* and *listen*.

English *listen* and *list* contain an old and widespread Indo-European radical *blus* (*klus*), "to hear." Cognate with English *listen* (Middle English *lusten*, A. S. *blystan*) are Icelandic *blusta*, Old High German *blosēn*, Middle High German *losen*, Modern High German *lauschen*, Lithuanian *klausijiti*, and (with root *bluo* or *klu*) also Latin *cluere*, Greek *κλίειν*, Sanskrit *gru*. Here belong, likewise, the series represented by English *loud*, Latin *gloria*, Russian *slava*, etc. The English correspondent of German *lauschen*, "to listen, to lie in wait" is *lurk*. In dialectic Swedish we have also *luska*, "to lurk, to sneak about, to listen, to play the eaves-dropper," etc. It may be noted here that "eaves-dropper" for "one who listens secretly," has no etymological connection with *ear* or *hear*, signifying "one who stands beneath the droppings of the eaves (so that he may hear)."

Ear and Hearing in Folk-Lore and Mythology. Darwin was of opinion that "the original music was the birds' love-song," a theory later investigators, like Wallaschek, have not looked on with favor. In the myth and folk-lore of primitive races the origin of music, song, and even speech, itself, is often attributed to birds. According to Chinese tradition, their musical scale was derived from a miraculous bird, and Wallaschek

(Prim. Mus., p. 262) records the Abyssinian belief that "St. Yared was the author of music, inspired as he was by the Holy Spirit, which appeared to him in the form of a pigeon, teaching him at the same time reading, writing and music." The whispering dove and "the little bird that told me" are familiar figures in the folk-lore of many lands. Religion and superstition have heard in the voices of beasts and birds messages from the other world, which men's ears must be keen to receive. In the mythology of the Canadian Iroquois there is mention of a "tree of language," whose branches are the tongues of men living on the earth, and in this tree is a small bird that "uses the voices and languages of all the nations of men and of all the kinds of beasts." Whispering, as opposed to loud talking and ordinary speech, appears often in the religion and magic of primitive peoples, as having *per se* peculiar and valuable qualities.

Several taboos of tale-telling among primitive peoples refer to the sense of hearing of the animals and the gods. Among the Omaha Indians myths and stories are not to be told during the day or in summer-time, or the snakes will hear and do mischief, and the Winnebagos say to their children that they will see snakes if they listen to tales during warm weather. With the Ojibwa and certain other Algonkian tribes it is the frogs who over-hear the tellers out of season. In winter, too, these Indians say their great hero or demi-god, Nanibozhu, is at leisure and likes to listen to the stories of his own great exploits. All over the world the gods, the subterranean, subaqueous and super-mundane beings strain their ears to catch the rhythm of the dances, the words of the songs and prayers, the lines of the dramas of primitive man. The ancestors and the divine beings *hear* the children of men, when they cannot see them, and thus know the world is getting along well. Noise (not always "joyful") has ever been a great factor in religion, which appealed to the ear before it made captive the eye. It is "*Hear ye the Lord!*" rather than "*See ye the Lord!*" The loud-voiced thunder is early deified and strange noises in forest and mountain live apart from form and embodiment. Ear-fear shocks many a savage to whom eye-fear is unknown. The craven-ear has fewer amulets and antidotes than the coward-eye. Deafness entails more eclipse of mentality than blindness. For the deaf correspondent of a blind Homer the world still waits. The melancholy of the failing ear does not attach to the lost eye. The "evil-eye" is hetero-infectious, the deaf-eye self-numbing. The folk-lore of the deaf is an interesting topic about which little has been written. "Superstitions concerning the Deaf in Cape Breton Island" is the title of a brief article by Professor T. A. Kiesel (Amer. Ann. of the Deaf,

1890, Vol. XXV), in which the ill-omened character of the deaf is emphasized. In folk-lore and mythology deafness, like some other sense-defects, is often attributed to giants, monsters, etc.; keen hearing, on the other hand, to dwarfs and the "little folk" of many lands.

Ear-mindedness. Evidences of earmindedness in modern English are to be found in the extensive legal and political use of the term "hearing," the parliamentary interjection "hear! hear!" and the *O Yes!* of the court-criers, corrupted from the Norman-French *Oyez!* (Hear ye).

In the English of the seventeenth century we find, corresponding to our "at first sight" and "eye-sore," the phrases "at first *ear*" and "*ear-sore*," the latter being used in reference to the jangling of bells, etc., and its effect upon the ear. There exist a number of "*ear-words*," like "*ear-mark*, *e. g.*," which belong perhaps in this category,—they can be found listed in the great Oxford Dictionary of Dr. Murray.

In the various languages of the Indo-European stock a correlation often appears between "hearing" and "morality, goodness, tractability, etc." Latin *obedire* and *obedientia* (whence English *obey* and *obedience*), and their descendants in the Romance languages, represent the idea of "submission" and "duty" as related to hearing and the ear. Anglo-Saxon *gehyrsum* and O. H. G. *gebōrsam* still preserved in modern High German *geborsam*, "obedient, submissive," and *Geborsam*, "obedience," are derived from the radical *hōr*, "hear." The simpler derivatives from the same root are seen in Swedish *hōrsam* and old Danish *hōrig*, with like meaning, the last being the simplest. Sanskrit *grustis*, Lithuanian *klausā*, from the radical *klus* (*klu*), "hear," signify also "obedience."

Latin *surdus*, from signifying "deaf," came to mean also "deaf to reason, unreasonable, irrational," ideas intensified in its derivative *absurdus*, whence our *absurd* and related words in other languages,—first what is not agreeable to the ears, then what suits not the understanding. Cicero says: *Est hoc auribus, animisque hominum absurdum.* *Surdus*, itself, has produced, in the Romance tongues, several words and phrases of interest here. French *sourd* signifies also "secret, underhand," etc., with its adverb *sourdement* (*cf.* Spanish *sordamente*, etc.). To our "dark lantern" corresponds French "lanterne sourde." From French *sourdine* we have borrowed our *sordine*, "damper"—and, in French, "*à la sourdine*," like Spanish "*a la sordina*," means "secretly, privately."

The Latin *hebes*, whence our English word *hebetude*, was applied in a general way to the senses of sight, hearing, smell and taste, to signify "faint, dull, dim, blunt, obtuse, slow, heavy,"—the original meaning being the physical one of 'blunt, dull,

not sharp or penetrating." It translates our "hard of hearing," "somewhat deaf," etc.

Greek *τυφλός*, "blind" seems to have had an extent of meaning similar to that of the Latin *hebes* and it is by Kluge connected with the stocks of English *dumb* (German *dumm*) and German *taub* (English *deaf*). One could say, *e. g.*, *τυφλός τά τ' ὄτα τού τε νοῦν τά τ' ὄμματα*, "blind in *ears* and mind and eyes." Also *τυφλοτούς*, "with blind foot, stepping in blindness." Another Greek term of general import in the earlier language is *κωφός*, "blunt, dumb, mute, dull of hearing, deaf," and metaphorically, "dull of mind, obtuse, stupid."

In modern English *dull* still retains a rather general significance: *Dull* of hearing (*dull ears*), *dull* of sight (*dull eyes*), *dull* day, *dull* edge, *dull* understanding, *dull* mind, *dull* brain, *dull* boy (*dullard*), etc., and the particular one of "stupid, foolish." This last meaning obtains, also, in earlier stages of English and in several of the cognate Teutonic tongues (Gothic *dwals*, "foolish" is a by-form). In German *toll* has the heightened sense of "mad," like Dutch *dol*, etc. In Irish we find *dall*, "blind;" also *cluas-dall*, "deaf," literally "ear-blind." The original sense of the Teutonic radical *dul* and also, perhaps, of an earlier Indo-European *dhul*, was probably "stupid, lacking in sense-ability, excited so as to be ineffective."

In modern English (and Anglo-Saxon) *dumb* signifies only "speechless, mute," and the same is true of the cognate Gothic *dumbs* and Old Norse *dumbr*. The corresponding modern High German *dumm*, however, indicates a wider meaning for the original root. In Modern High German *dumm* signifies "stupid, dull of understanding;" in Middle High German *tum(p)* meant "weak in intellect, stupid, foolish, silly, simple, inexperienced, unlearned, thoughtless, mute;" in O. H. G. *tump* signified likewise "deaf," as also in earlier Mod. H. G. The original sense of the Teutonic radical was probably "dull of mind or senses, stupid, not understanding," from which general meaning the particular ideas of "dumb" and "deaf" developed later in the special languages concerned.

Perhaps the most remarkable examples of earmindedness are to be found among the aborigines of Australia. Dr. W. E. Roth (N. Queensl. Ethn. Bull. No. 5, p. 19) informs us that "throughout North Queensland, the ear is believed to be the seat of intelligence, etc., through or by means of which the impressions from the outer world are conveyed to the inner." So, the natives of Tully River, when they first saw the whites communicate with each other by means of a letter, used, after looking at it, "to put it up to their ears to see if they could understand anything by that method." The Brisbane blacks

would try to revive an unconscious individual by "banging his ears between the open hands, and shouting into them all the time." In the Koko-yimidir language *milka*, the word for "ear," enters into the composition of the terms for the following:

"Amend," *milkabandandaya* ("ears broken-open"); "forget," *milkangandal* ("ears refuse"); "forget," *milkanyiwara* ("ears look for but not necessarily find"); "hear," *milkana-malma* ("ears see"); "homesick," *milkawarramal* ("ears bad become"); "homesick," *milkadundal* ("ears soften"); "intelligent," *milkadir* ("ears with"); "listen," *milkanninggal* ("ears sit"); "mad," *milkabantchir* ("ears hard"); "obedient," *milkadir* ("ears with"); "obstinate," *milkangamba* ("ears closed"); "obstinate," *milkabantchir* ("ears hard"); "persuade," *milkabakal* ("ears dig"); "playful," *milkangudo* ("ears play-play"); "remember," *milkanamalma* ("ears see"); "stupid," *milkamul* ("ears without"); "think," (*milkanamalma* ("ears see")); "turn over a new leaf," *milkabandandaya* ("ears broken-open").

From the Nggerikudi language the following may be cited (Bull. No. 6, p. 4; Bull. No. 5, p. 19):

"Clever," *woaperu* ("ear good"); "dead tired," *woanaabanu* ("ear-from wind breath"); "disobedient," *woatcheanamai* ("ear not listen"); "faint," *woanaabanu* (see "dead tired"); "intelligent," *woaperu* ("ear good"); "stupid," *woadetra* ("deaf").

The Mallanpara language of Tully River has:

"Cranky," *wallupurmopurmo* ("very deaf"); "disobedient," *wallupurmo* ("deaf"); "foolish," *wallupurmopurmo* ("very deaf"); "intelligent," *wallubatchun* ("large [in quantity as well as in quality] ear"); "obedient," *wallubatchun* ("ear large"). The Kia blacks of the Proserpine River call "a foolish individual" *wallukuta* ("ear closed") and a "clever" one *walluimbana* ("ear open").

In the gesture-language of the Pitta-Pitta natives, according to Dr. Roth, "the sign for 'forgetfulness,' loss of memory, etc.," is the picking at the centre or lobe of the ear with the thumb and forefinger,—the idea of bringing forth that which was originally put into it," and the same sign is known in other places (at Cape Bedford, "the forefinger is plugged into the ear and dragged vertically out"). In the latter region also, "there is a gesture indicative of 'knavery, foolery, etc.,' represented by a tapping of the ear with the extended forefinger,—'he won't listen to reason, *i. e.* hearing.' "

Noises, Musical Sounds, etc. The primitive reaction to noises and musical sounds varies considerably, even within the same stock. This is best illustrated by the consideration of the

sound terms of one linguistic family, the Algonkian, for example. An interesting Algonkian term is *kitotāgan*, which, in several dialects denotes "a musical instrument." The particular application is envious. The Ojibwa call by this name a *bell* the Ottawas a *flute*, the Nipissings an *organ*, other Algonkins of the Lake of the Two Mountains a *trumpet*. Corresponding in Cree is *kitotchigan*, "an instrument of music," also *violin*, to which is cognate the Ojibwa *kitotjigan*, the particular term for a *violin*. In Cree an *organ* is *misi kitotchigan* (*misi* = "big"). The ultimate radical of all these musical terms is *kitō*, "to give forth sound, to make a noise." This term serves also (in Cree, etc.,) to designate all the noises of animals, birds, etc., noise of thunder, noises of man, etc. Cree *kitowok*, "he makes a noise, sings, neighs, bellows, roars, etc.," corresponds, in signification to the Kootenay *tatlōkiné*. Another Algonkian term for "musical instrument" is Ojibwa *madwēwetchigan*, applied to anything producing a noise, or giving forth a sound, and, in particular to a *piano*, *organ*, *harp*, *guitar*, *horn*, *trumpet*, etc. The ultimate radical is *madwē*, "hearing a report or sound" (of any kind). The range of signification of *madwē* is even more extensive than that of *kitō*, from the "beating of the wings of a partridge," to the notes of a piano, from the sound of the waves on the shore, to the cracking of ice by the cold, from weeping to a gun-shot. Indeed *madwē*, with the proper suffix (e. g., *madwē piisan*, "to hear the rain,") can be applied any particular sound. It has thus quite as wide a signification as has our word *hear*. In Cree *kitō* and its derivatives seem to have furnished the words for "music" *kitōtchikewin*, "musician" (*kitotchikewiyiniu*), "to play a musical instrument" (*kitotchikew*), etc., while in Ojibwa *madwē* and its derivatives have furnished the corresponding terms, *madwēwe tchigawin*, "music," *madwēwetchigad*, "musician," *madwēwetchige*, "to play on a musical instrument." Besides the terms relating to music and musical instruments noted above there are several more. In Ojibwa *nažhabitigan*, "fiddle, base viol," etc.; *pipigwan*, "whistle, flute, pipe;" *potatchigan*, "trumpet, bugle, horn, bellows of an organ;" *teweigan*, "drum, tambourine," etc. The Ojibwa *nažhabigān* and the corresponding verb *nažhabiiige*, "to play the violin, etc.," come, through the verb *nažhabiiān*, "to draw it over a string or cord (*nažb*, "scrape," *āb*, "cord"), from the radical *nažb*, "to scrape" (e. g., skin), from which is derived also *nažbigāgan*, "(skin) scraper."

To "scrape" a fiddle is as good Ojibwa as it is English. *Pipikwan*, the term for "whistle, flute, fife, pipe, etc.,"—the corresponding verb is *pipkwe*,—seems to be a radical in Ojibwa, Nipissing and Cree, neither Lacombe nor Cuoq offering any

etymology for it. *Potatchigan* is derived, with the instrumental suffix *-igan*, from *potatch*, "to blow" (with the mouth), from which same radical comes *potatchine*, "to blow and hiss at the same time (as serpents do)." Corresponding in Cree is *potatchigan*, "instrument to blow, flute, trumpet, etc." *Teweigan* (the verb corresponding is *teweige*), comes, with the instrumental suffix *-igan*, from the radical *tewe*, which Cuoq interprets as "to make the sound *te! te!* etc.," (the components being the onomatopoeic *te!* and *-we*, "to make a noise"). The Nipissing word for "bell," *teweschaigan*, contains the same root.

Another Algonkian word for "drum,"—Ojibwa *mitikwakik*, Cree *mistikwashik*,—signifies, literally, "wooden kettle," preserving, perhaps, the fact of its origin after the "earthen kettle" (*ahik*), and referring to the wooden drums of the Indians, not in connection with the sound produced. For "to beat the drum" we have Cree *pakahamāw*, "he beats the drum," cognate with Ojibwa *pagaakokwan*, "drumstick" and identical with Nipissing *pakaama*, "he beats time." The radical of these words is *paka* or *pak* "to strike, to beat," possibly onomatopoeic. Other languages would, doubtless, furnish an abundance of material in illustration of these points. But these Algonkian examples must serve for the present.

As the somewhat obsolete English word "chanticleer" suggests, the same term was often applied to gallinaceous and to human song. Modern High German *Hahn* and Lithuanian *gaidys*, "cock," both signify "singer,"—Latin *cano*, "I sing," is cognate. In Old High German *singen* means also "to crow" as well as "to sing," and Modern High German *singer*, like English *sing* is applied indiscriminately to human beings and to birds, etc. In the Nipissing dialect of Algonkian, according to Cuoq (Lex. Alg., p. 273) the word *nikam*, "to sing," signifies, literally, "to talk goose," from *nika*, "wild goose." Hence, *nikamowin*, "song" is really "wild goose language." In figurative speech the cultivated nations of the world call a celebrated poet a "swan," a noted singer a "mocking-bird," a "nightingale," etc. Wallaschek (Prim. Music, p. 123) calls attention to the relation between the voices of birds and the noises of musical instrument in folk-thought:

"The Ostiaks have two stringed instruments (inventions of their own); one with strings, called 'dombra' (the name is said to be akin to the 'tombora' of the Magyars); another, with eight strings, called 'naruista juch chotning' ('chotning' = 'swan'). In Russian folk-songs the comparison of instruments with aquatic birds frequently occurs, particularly in the bird-songs. The swan, especially, is considered to have the most silvery voice of all animals; even the Chinese goose 'ritais roi gus,'

is called 'swonroi,' *i. e.*, possessing a beautiful voice. Mr. Gorman supposes that the Russian harp, 'gusli,' has its name from 'gus' (goose'), like the 'chotning' of the Ostiaks from swan. I may mention that in the Slavonian, too, 'husa' means 'goose,' and 'husle,' a violin.' "

Onomatopœia. That primitive peoples do not all hear the same (or approximately the same) sound in the same manner is a well-known fact. The "local" nature of onomatopœia and the great variety in sound and noise names of savage and barbarous tribes have been discussed by the present writer in connection with theories of language-origins (*The Child*, 1900, pp. 113-118). Modifications of language by the hearer, accepted by the speaker, have had their rôle in the history of human speech. Onomatopœia of human sounds is no more perfect than that which imitates the voices of animals and the noises of nature. The foreign element in every language testifies to the inability of even the well-practiced ear to repeat exactly the spoken word. It is a clever adult to-day who can infallibly distinguish the cry of a cat and that of a child, or unmistakably recognize the snore of a human being under all circumstances. And our savage and barbarous ancestors were not in all instances wiser and cleverer than ourselves.